Dear Jim, State files, personal, FOIA/PA 12/27/76

My long letter after reading the files that have finally been provided, disorganized and angry as it is, had remarkable confirmation from Clark Clifford and unintendedly from George Bush, with Sorensen indicating incomplete comprehension of the Presidential problem on which Clifford was quite explicit. As it says, all on this morning's CBS am TV news.

When you read my letter to Pruden you will find recurring the statement that the Department has much to learn from what I was writing . I did not expect him or the others to want to learn. I do assume they know what they are doing and why. I did want them to ponder whether they want an airing when a new administration is taking over, whether they wanted to try and exert the customary control on all levels and issues right off.

You will also find recurring citations of proof to support the statement that the spooks and the spook mind control what others can know, from desk analysts to ambassadors to the Secretary. I understated too much, even where as you will see I refer to the self-perpetuation of these right extreme types and the control they have over who can even go to work for the Department.

Clifford reminded me of what I'd forgotten. Iwas doing news at the time of the first war in Palestine. What Clifford said about the Department refusing to do what the President ordered it to do - he quoted Truman as saying "they've sunk me" - brought much back to mind, including some of the original concepts and research for the book to which I've never been able to return, Tiger to Ride. And an earlier one of the same history, Aesop in the State Department.

Now I also realize that my focus was too narrow, whether from disgust and anger over what the records show or from just not realizing I do not know. But I was too restrictive in what I have written. The bureaucratic control is all-level. It will take an exceptional president to make even a dent in it now.

Bush boasted of the total dedication he found in the CIA. I do not doubt the accuracy. That is the essence of the problem. By now they are staffed by those totally dedicated to old, outdated and wrong policy.

Clifford detailed how the President laid down one policy and the State Department followed its own in opposition to his to the extent that Austin's policy speech on a state of Israel was contrary to the line Truman laid down. Project that forward now and see the magnitude of that problem today and since then.

On a much lower but still significant level I was caught up in the same thing at the same time. Here JFK tried and failed at a later date, Latin America and detente. Well, he did get to make a beginning in detente by using his own rather than the bureaucracy's people. In all these issues and event the bureaucracy aims at authoritarianism, everywhere, including at home, and in foreclosing all threats to this policy, also everywhere.

The fictitious and never enunciated but implicit charges of disloyalty against me are actually charges of loyalty that from the spooks to the top echelons was opposed. They had their own desires, their own policies, and who the hell is a President, whether FDR of Truman, to tell them? I was a New Dealer so I was a threat. I was against the military dictatorships the President opposed so I was an added threat. These people actually regard a non-Nixonian President as a threat, even Eisenhower.

I was even more of a threat because I did my work well and because I adhered to the tradition of public service, temporarily our policy at Nurnburg, that one does not do what one does not agree with, in my case bad policy. There is in what I have written brief reference to what none of the State files show, my work when I was in charge of the preparations for the pre-UN conference at Chapultepec, where Nelson Rockefeller headed the American delegation. This was a get-together of the American states before San Francisco. Policy had been to oppose the Peron dictatorship. I agreed with this. It is one of the inferences that makes me somehow disloyal. They sought out those who adored dictatorships. Rockefeller rewrote policy at Chapultepec. He did not use the work that had been prepared

for him to use, ordered on the policy level. This really gets at why OSS had to be wiped out and all those not of the type later in CIA eliminated. However, there were enough of the FDR people left in State to want to persist, I think unthinkingly. Once Rockefeller got away with it they could not then go into San Francisco, having welcomed the Argentine dictatorship at Chapultepec, and try to kick them out. My perception that this would be greeted as Yanqui Imperialism all over was completely correct. This is why, when I had time to think it through, I asked to be relieved. I had done the economic part earlier. I was then put in charge of the military part. The end product was called the Blue Book on Argentina. As I look back on this now I can see how the extremists of the right could have wanted this, in the same sense that the intelligence agencies sponsor the most extreme and unreasonable criticisms of themselves and to force a sharpening of the issues in other countries to the end that the military and its allies spot and eliminate the liberals.

Here there are added explanations of what is missing in the files on me. Even the Otepkas knew I was competent at least and had unique experiences for which I was Hired. This is part of why they wanted me fired. They did not go through all the magazine issues and not see the published raves for my work from all sorts of highest levels of government. They did not miss seeing the published picture of me carrying a satchel full of photostats into Thurman Arnold's office when he headed anti-trust. Do you think for a moment that when he was my counsel they also did not have any awareness?

I could give more illustrations, including where when the CIA and FBI both goofed or seemed to goof I did not. I provided accurate information. They could not stand this.

How all of this fits into the cold war, which was not FDR's policy, may not be too apparent to one who was not adult in those days. One simple formulation is that each and every military dictatorship was an automatic anti-Soviet vote at the UN. Can you see this as one explanation for wanting Argentina in?

This also is represented in one of their slipups in not withholding even more. There is the little handwritten FC note you have not yet seen. It was ordered by the spooks that I now be allowed access to reports on the Nazi and Falange infiltration and control in Latin America when I was ordered to prepare an American statement on this to be made at the UN. Here is where they knew they had to get me and the unit of which I was part. Despite this I did prepare a more than adequate statement. (The one criticism of it is that I drew too heavily on FBI sources! That was not "scholarly." No, there was a second, I quoted earlier official UN policy statements by the American delegation only. The criticism of that came from the man who had drafted it! So you can see survival working.) The Nazi and Falange minds and the countries in which they exercised great control all contributed to the split of the world into competing camps, what has ruined the economies of most countries since then.

So it is because I was loyal, because I did do what the President wanted done, whether he be FDR or Truman, that I became disloyal and it is to hide all of this that Orwellian memory-holing of the files was necessary.

There is another slipup, the letting in of the giving of ~~casess~~ access to all this venom to NSA during Eisenhower's day. The only correlation I can make with that may interest you. Bill Costello, who had been a CBS correspondent and was then with Tommy Corcoran, arranged for the proper division chief of USIA to ask me to challenge Khruschev to peaceful competition in poultry. When USIA used it State got excited, saw the possibilities, but on what level I do not know. So I did write the letter, USIA asked for some changes I made, and certainly the letter was intercepted as I am sure Moscow's communications to the Washington Embassy were. But State had asked me to go to Russia to teach them how to grow better chickens. Then nothing happened. It had developed to the point where they asked me to arrange for some group to pay my fare. I got the Northeastern Poultry Producers' Council to agree. But these characters wanted no detente.

You may get some added Latin American perspective from what happened three weeks after JFK was killed. He had ordered no recognition of any military dictatorship that

overturned an elected government. Johnson was persuaded to recognize the Dominican dictatorship. This meant the radicalization of the democratic elements that were non-communist and anti-communist. They had no choice. This is a sample of what happened throughout that area. Guatemala is another. That was not a communist government. For the long-range objectives of our own authoritarians this was not a liability. It helped them. They wanted the sharpening of issues and conflicts because they knew their boys in the military would win out in the end. You will find that virtually every Latin American military ~~dictator~~ dictator after Peron was American trained. Others of that period were American supported, ~~like~~ like that Stroessner inherited in Paraguay. Why lose do you think these countries that can't afford it and have no need for it are overloaded with weaponry? Nobody is going to invade them. There never was a chance of it. The weapons were intended for the only use to which they have been put, ending democratic government.

It now appears to me that there is even more need to press for these files, those that are withheld and do exist and of the existence of which I have proofs. Every day I become more impressed with the importance of FOIA/PA in a democratic society. This is why for months I have said that what serves the viability of the Acts is now more important to me than the immediate attaining of an immediate objective. Important as these Acts are when used in consumer interests for the long-range interest of the country that is nothing compared to their importance on political questions.

I don't think that Clifford will associate himself with what furthers what he is saying. However, at some point an approach may be worthwhile. There may be someone in his firm who might have the interest and we sure do need some help!

Because I was, as usual, exercycling during the program I missed some from the noise the gadget makes. I think Marvin Kalb, who did the interviewing, referred to a forthcoming book. I think we'll want to read it.

The bureaucracies continue. In State it must be composed of only those who could survive the Otepka mind in security. One of the importances of what I have received is the proof of how the investigations are corrupted, how in secret they lie, so that any other kind of person can't make it. Or if he is in is thrown out. The degree to which they do this is incredible. I'd been an employee for years but they call me an "applicant." This extends to strong anti-communists if they are anti-dictatorship and this is the case of mistaken identity I refer to. They got the wrong Bennie. Both, however, were strong anti-communists. So if we can find some way of pressing now, in the early days of a different administration, perhaps some good may result. In the long run there can be at least an important doctoral thesis. When I next hear from the Harvard student who is doing one on my files on the executive sessions I'll ask her to take this up with those professors who saw the value in her project. What of my earlier work I do not have I gave to Howard when he was a history major. They will be available. They include even the documentation of the American training of those who became military dictators, once the policy boys did not have the FDR types to contend with. They include other projects like Tonkin Gulf, some that did not work as that one did. Howard made a copy of my instant analysis of Tonkin Gulf and returned it to me. Of course anyone capable of this kind of analysis had to be gotten rid of. So my correct analysis of what was going to happen in the Paraguayan revolution before it happened was still more reason for getting rid of me, especially because this was where the FBI and CIA were both in error, referred to above.

If State insists on non-compliance I think this is going to make quite a court record.

Hastily,